The Hague to the Rijksmuseum, but his wife had the right of usufruct during her lifetime, as did her brother and heir Jacob, Baron van Pallandt upon her death. When the director of the Rijksmuseum at the time, Jonkheer B.W.F. van Riemsdijk, accepted the Lyndenstein bequest, he certainly had his eye on the future bequest of the modern French paintings. In November 1899 he was able to view this collection in Baroness van Pallandt’s home in The Hague and concluded that it was ‘of great importance’ to the Netherlands. ‘It contains forty-six works and the most famous modern painters are well represented with fine examples,’ he wrote to the Minister of the Interior. As a result of this visit, the widow decided to donate the second part of the bequest when she left The Hague in 1900. This is how the first modern French art entered the museum. There were paintings by, among others, Claude Monet (fig. 1), Gustave Courbet, Camille Corot, Eugène Delacroix and Charles-François Daubigny, and also by the American James McNeill Whistler.

In the summer of 2021 the Historical Beetsterzwaag Foundation staged a reproduction exhibition in the gardens of Lyndenstein about the complete Van Lynden-Van Pallandt Collection. Research in preparation for the exhibition revealed that there had never been a separate publication about this
collection, in marked contrast to other important nineteenth-century painting collections in the Rijksmuseum. It is therefore high time to focus first of all on the paintings’ provenance and the couple’s taste. The second part of this article examines the question as to why this collection was apparently treated so unappreciatively by the Rijksmuseum for such a long time.

The Van Lynden-Van Pallandts

Reinhard Boelens van Lynden (1827-1896) was a scion of the Frisian branch of the Van Lynden family, founded by his grandfather Rijnhard, Baron van Lynden (1742-1819), who after his marriage in 1778 to Ypkjen Hillegonda van Boelens (1756-1789) was appointed *gieterman* (administrator and judge) of the Grietemij (district, the current municipality) of Opsterland. As a result of this marriage, Rijnhard became a fabulously wealthy landowner. When he died his assets were valued at 1,741,822 guilders and his possessions included 141 farms with thirty-four houses.

Their son Frans Godard (1780-1828) was a widely travelled man, well versed in culture and philosophy, who among other things was curator of the Rijks Athenaeum in Franeker, the successor to the university that was closed down in 1811. After his father’s death, in 1821-22 Frans Godard had a new country house, Lyndenstein, built in Beetsterzwaag behind the family home (fig. 2). In 1825 he married Cornelia Johanna Maria van Borcharen (1789-1864), daughter of a wealthy businessman in Gorinchem. Their eldest child, Ypkje Hillelgonda, was born in 1826, and Reinhard Boelens a year later.

Frans Godard died when Reinhard was a year old. After the premature death of his sister in 1862, he was the only heir to the family’s wealth.

Unlike his father and grandfather, Reinhard had no administrative posts but he was part of the royal household as an extraordinary chamberlain to the queen, an honorary position. First and foremost, though, Reinhard Boelens was a landowner, who around 1890, according to the historian Yme Kuiper, was ‘by far the biggest, usually absent, property owner in southeast Friesland’.

In 1859 Reinhard van Lynden married Maria Catharina, Baroness van Pallandt (1834-1905). She was one of the ten children of Hans Willem van Aylva, Baron van Pallandt, Lord of Waardenburg and Neerijnen (1804-1881) and Constantina Catharina Wilhelmina van Scheltinga (1804-1890), daughter of a noble Frisian family. Her father, Martinus Bloq van Scheltinga, was a regional politician, judge and administrator. The Van Pallandts were leading and very wealthy aristocracy with good connections at court, as were the Van Lyndens. Maria’s father was a member of the Upper and Lower Houses of Parliament and the Council of State. Like Reinhardt van Lynden, he also held an honorary position as chamberlain to Kings William I, II and III from 1826 to 1881.

The newlyweds set up home at 12 Alexanderstraat in The Hague (fig. 3), part of the new Willemspark development. Their only child, Cornelia Johanna Maria van Lynden (figs. 4a, b), was born in 1860. After the death of
Reinhard’s mother in 1864, the family spent summers in Lyndenstein and the rest of the year in The Hague or abroad. Sadly, Cornelia died of tuberculosis when she was just twenty.  

The couple were very devout, in particular Baroness van Pallandt, who was brought up in a strict religious environment with a strongly felt duty to charity. The Van Lyndens were members of the orthodox Protestant movement known as the Réveil (revival or awakening), which experienced a resurgence around 1850. Philanthropy – a traditional task of the nobility – was an important activity, but according to the stricter views of the Réveil, it had to be in the context of evangelism. That requirement set the Revivalists apart from modern Protestantism, where the individual enlightenment of believers is the primary objective.  

The spouses both actively participated in this religious dispute. The baroness,
for instance, challenged the young, modern cleric in Beetsterzwaag by strongly supporting an orthodox Protestant minister, who preached in the garden of Lyndenstein and in the nearby village of Beets. Her husband, together with the Lycklema à Nijeholt family, which was also based in Beetsterzwaag, had a new church built as a counterweight to religious practices in Beetsterzwaag that, in their view, were too liberal. It would appear that this rigour in religious teaching came primarily from the Van Pallandt family and that the baroness took the lead. In the past the Van Lynden family had hardly stood out as being expressly religious and Reinhard’s father, Frans Godaert, had in fact been more of a man of science.

Despite their sadness, the serious illness and death of their only child did not cause the Van Lyndens to doubt their faith. The baroness expressed her grief in the form of poems, which reveal that her sense of loss did not decrease as the years passed, but there are no signs of uncertainty or rebellion. Her faith was rather a source of comfort. In the spirit of Réveil and their daughter, who had lovingly cared for the poor and sick in Beetsterzwaag, they left their substantial fortune to charitable organizations, including a school, an orphanage, a number of hospitals and a lifesaving service. The major recipient was the Cornelia Foundation, established in 1915, for the free care of sick and deprived children. The Foundation still exists albeit in a different form. Lyndenstein is currently a rehabilitation centre under its auspices.

Romantic Painting in a Frisian Country House

The interest in painting started in Reinhard’s youth. When Cornelia van Borcharen died, she was referred to as a ‘patron of the arts’ and it is likely that she had been involved in building up the painting collection in Lyndenstein. Most of the works hung in the west front room on the first floor, also referred to as the picture gallery (fig. 5). Now and again the dowager opened it to the public, as happened in 1858 when Lyndenstein hosted a two-day celebration on the occasion of the local summer festival.

When the collection was picked up in 1899 for transport to the Rijksmuseum after Van Lynden’s death, the paintings were still hanging in the picture gallery, augmented with new acquisitions. Using the transport manifest in conjunction with the dimensions of the room and the paintings, combined with knowledge of the way art was displayed in the nineteenth century, it is possible to
get an impression of the layout. Until about 1880, nineteenth-century art collections were usually hung in the same way: genres grouped together, symmetrically and in two or three rows one above the other. Given the modest size of the gallery in Lyndenstein – 6.8 metres long, 5.3 metres wide and 5 metres high – everything must have had to be hung close together, and that, too, was normal. In terms of subjects, this collection was nothing other than the general preferences at the time – sentimental, sometimes even gloomy themes such as *The Painter’s Widow* by Kate Bisschop-Swift (fig. 6) or *A Jewish Funeral* by Hein Burgers (fig. 7).

Charity and godliness in a general sense are also apparent in the collection, for example the praying parents in *The Sick Child* by Adolph Tidemand (fig. 8), Simon Opzoomer’s Johan van Oldenbarnevelt praying on the way to the scaffold (fig. 9) and the small painting *Early to Church* by August Allebé (fig. 10). These genre paintings were interspersed with romantic landscapes (fig. 11), seascapes, and cityscapes which were very popular in the nineteenth century (fig. 12). The oval painting of a falconer by Christoffel Bisschop (fig. 13) probably hung above the door.

Thus organized on the wall, the collection presented a representative overview of Dutch painting in the second half of the nineteenth century. The baron and his mother collected encyclopaedically; the collection has only a single work by most artists. They made the lion’s share of their purchases at the Exhibitions of Living Artists. A special committee dispensed medals and testimonials at every exhibition and it is clear from annotated exhibition catalogues that the baron preferred to buy works that had received awards and had already achieved recognition. For example, the *Falconer* by Christoffel Bisschop referred to above was awarded a silver medal in 1857. That obviously had implications for the price. Going through the usual haggling performance was now more difficult, so in this case the baron paid the asking price of 300 guilders.

Two acquisitions in 1861 also demonstrate this purchasing strategy. A painting by Oswald Achenbach (sk-A-1798) and *Early to Church* by August Allebé both won awards at
Fig. 6
Kate Bisschop-Swift (1834-1928), The Painter’s Widow, 1870.
Oil on canvas, 79 x 52.5 cm, inv. no. SK-A-1802.

Fig. 7
Hein Burgers (1834-1899), A Jewish Funeral, 1850-99.
Oil on canvas, approx. 170 x 125 cm, inv. no. SK-A-1805.

Fig. 8
Adolph Tidemand (1814-1876), The Sick Child, 1851.
Oil on canvas, 93 x 113.6 cm, inv. no. SK-A-1833.

Fig. 9
Simon Opzoomer (1807-1878), The Last Prayer of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, 1853.
Oil on canvas, 108.2 x 83 cm, inv. no. SK-A-1822.

Fig. 10
August Allebé (1838-1927), Early to Church, 1861.
Oil on canvas, 43 x 35 cm, inv. no. SK-A-1799.

Fig. 11
Georg Eduard Otto Saal (1817-1870),
Forest Landscape in the Moonlight, 1861.
Oil on canvas, 70.5 x 110.5 cm, inv. no. SK-A-1827.

Fig. 12
Jan Weissenbruch (1822-1880),
St Denis Church in Liège, 1850-60.
Oil on canvas, 95 x 77 cm, inv. no. SK-A-1835.
Figs. 6 to 16 show a selection of the Van Lynden-Van Pallandt Collection, which was bequeathed to the Rijksmuseum by R., Baron van Lynden, The Hague, 1899.
Fig. 13
CHRISTOFFEL BISSCHOP (1828-1904),
The Falconer, 1857.
Oil on canvas, 80 x 68 cm, inv. no. sk-A-1801.

Fig. 14
LOUWRENS HANEDOES (1822-1905),
The Old Fortress, 1840-60.
Oil on panel, 13.5 x 17 cm, inv. no. sk-A-1818.

Fig. 15
LOUWRENS HANEDOES AND HERMAN FREDERIK CAREL TEN KATE (1822-1891),
Mountainous Landscape with a Ruin, 1849.
Oil on canvas, 43 x 65 cm, inv. no. sk-A-1816.

Fig. 16
GERARDUS TERLAAK (1820-1865),
A Rich Lady Visits a Poor Family, 1853.
Oil on canvas, 82 x 88 cm, inv. no. sk-A-1832.
the exhibition in The Hague that year and were subsequently acquired by Van Lynden. He paid the asking price of 250 guilders for the Allebé, but negotiated a good price of 2,000 guilders for the Achenbach (asking price 2,500 guilders). This painting’s current title is *Market Day in an Italian Town* but it was originally titled *A Sunday in Palestrina in the Sabine Hills*. Van Lynden’s name is noted in the annotated catalogue, with ‘Hanedoes’ below it.

As it was, Van Lynden made a striking exception to the apparent intention of acquiring only one work by each artist. There were no fewer than seven landscapes in Lyndenstein by the landscape painter Louwrens Hanedoes (1822-1905) (sk-a-1812 to sk-a-1818, e.g. figs. 14, 15). Hanedoes was a scion of the Hanedoes family of Almkerk and a distant relative of the Van Lyndens through his great-grandmother Johanna Maria van Borcharen, who was a great-aunt of Reinhard’s mother. As well as being a painter, he was also an ardent art collector and lived at both the family seat Kraaiveld in Woudrichem and in The Hague. Hanedoes was well informed about foreign painting as a result of his extensive travels in Germany and France. In view of the aforementioned note in the 1861 catalogue, it is plausible that he advised the baron and his mother, or perhaps even made purchases on their behalf, and that the seven paintings in Lyndenstein by him should be seen as confirmation of the family ties and amicable relationship.

**French Artists in The Hague**

To furnish their new house in The Hague, Reinhard and Maria acquired a largely new collection, this time primarily by French modern painters. That prompts the question as to whether the newly married Baroness van Pallandt wanted to assert herself and whether she was an active participant in collecting. It is impossible to definitively answer these questions. Together with her husband and daughter, she took many trips abroad every year during the eighteen-seventies. Their stay in Paris was always lengthy, and the family visited galleries and sales there. An anecdote about viewing a painting by Whistler, recounted below, reveals that she and her husband looked at it together, and her opinion counted. However, after her husband died, Maria moved in with her family in Waardenburg Castle near Neerijnen. She donated the collection in the Hague house to the Rijksmuseum, choosing to keep only one work – a still life with roses by Gerarda Jacoba van de Sande Bakhuijzen to which her late daughter had been very attached. So, without doubt she was involved in the purchase of artworks for their home in The Hague, but it seems she did not feel any personal ties to the collection as a whole.

It is difficult to give a clear reason for the Van Lyndens’ new taste because there are no egodocuments nor any records of statements by the reclusive couple. It is possible that the modern interior design and decorations of their new house in Alexanderstraat called for modern paintings. The opening of a branch of Goupil & Cie in The Hague in 1861 also made French art more easily accessible. On the other hand, the baron’s mother’s preference for Dutch Romantic art may have been mainly represented in Lyndenstein, while the second collection might have been a reflection of her son and daughter-in-law’s own taste. When she died in 1864, her estate passed to the couple, freeing up a large amount of money that could be spend on more expensive art. Yet that does not explain the change in taste either, given Van Lynden’s already existing immense wealth.

And the differences were also not as great as might appear at first sight. The ‘French’ collection in Alexander-
straat contained landscapes by members of the Barbizon School such as Camille Corot, Constant Troyon, Jules Dupré and Charles-François Daubigny. French genre painters, for example Auguste Boudard, Théodule Ribot (fig. 17) and Honoré Daumier were also represented. Although this appears to be a complete change of heart compared with the earlier collection, the selection of a number of subjects is strongly reminiscent of the collection in Lyndenstein, with religious scenes and compositions full of sentimentality. The Meal by Boulard (fig. 18) and ‘Arrangement in Yellow and Grey’: Effie Deans by James McNeill Whistler (fig. 19), for example, can rival Allebé’s Early to Church (fig. 10) and The Painter’s Widow by Bisschop-Swift (fig. 6) in terms of sentiment. We can arguably see the influence of Maria van Pallandt’s beliefs in the paintings depicting children, poverty and faith.

While the choice of subjects may coincide to some extent, the style of painting was significantly different from the Romantic, finely painted part of the collection. To the painters whose work hung in Alexanderstraat, it was above all about looser, sometimes almost sketchy, brushstrokes and a focus on the act of painting. We find a good example in The Agony in the Garden by Eugène Delacroix (fig. 20), where strong colours and chiaroscuro contrasts are executed in an extremely sketchy style.

In this collection, too, each artist is mostly represented by only one work, but now there are more exceptions. Multiple paintings by Ribot, Dupré, Charles-François Daubigny, Adolphe Monticelli and Gustave Courbet were purchased. Van Lynden acquired Daubigny’s capital October in Paris at the sale of the artist’s estate in 1878 (fig. 21). Among the items in that sale was Beach at Ebb Tide (fig. 22), which he bought in 1889 from the branch of the Paris art gallery Boussod, Valadon & Cie in The Hague (known until 1884 as Goupil & Cie). The collection includes three works by Courbet: View of the Forest of Fontainebleau painted in 1855 (sk-A-1863), Still Life with Apples (fig. 23) and Landscape with Rocky Cliffs and a Waterfall (sk-A-1864), both dated 1872.

**Assembling the Modern Collection**

Van Lynden bid in person at a sale in the case of Daubigny’s October. He probably did that on several occasions because in 1892 at the sale of the Barbedienne Collection he himself bought a work by Thomas Couture (fig. 24), an oil sketch for an 1844 painting in het Musée des Augustins in Toulouse. Most of the works, however, were purchased through the art trade, among them a harbour scene by Antoine Vollon (fig. 25), which reflects a completely different approach to the realistic style in Jan Weissenbruch’s painting in Lyndenstein (fig. 12). The Boussod, Valadon & Cie gallery, which had branches in The Hague and Paris, was a major supplier. Between 1863 and 1891 at least twelve works were acquired from the branch in The Hague, including the Vollon and a few surprising works, such as a large oil sketch Moorish Oarsmen of Constantinople by Felix Ziem (fig. 26), bought on 6 July 1887, a month after the gallery had purchased it.

At the beginning of the eighteen-sixties Hanedoes was still acting as an intermediary, but his role in the Netherlands was later taken over by Hendrik Jan van Wisselingh (1816-1884), who ran an art gallery in Westeinde in The Hague. Van Wisselingh was a great admirer of French art, in particular the Barbizon School and Gustave Courbet. Together with his son Elbert Jan (1848-1912), who started for himself in Paris in the eighteen-eighties and took over his father’s business in The Hague when he died, they sold some twenty works to the
Van Lyndens. Only a couple of them can be traced because the sales ledgers prior to 1892 have been lost. Elbert Jan van Wisselingh purchased *Still Life with Apples* by Courbet (fig. 23) in Paris on 9 October 1895 for 2,000 guilders, and sold it to the couple the following day for 400 guilders more. Van Wisselingh probably purchased this work especially for them and we should regard the 400 guilders as commission.39 Van Wisselingh also bought a *Christ Blessing the Children* by Adolphe Monticelli (fig. 27), who was hugely popular at the time, on 17 June 1895 in Paris for 10,500 francs (approximately 5,000 guilders) and ten days later sold it to the Van Lyndens for 6,000 guilders.40 The baron and baroness probably purchased a masterpiece like Monet’s *La Corniche near Monaco* (fig. 1) from the French dealer Georges Petit themselves in 1886.41

The purchase of *Nymph*, a painting of a nude woman in a landscape by Marie Joséphine Nicolas (fig. 28) from Boussod, Valadon & Cie in 1886 is curious in a number of respects. It is the only nude in the collection and, given its sensuality, it is a surprising choice for the devout Van Lyndens. It was acquired for 840 francs on the day that the dealer had bought it for 500 francs.42 It is also strange that the work is signed L. Nicolas, in a signature that differs from the artist’s normal one.43 Is it possible that the work was unsigned and that the (wrong) signature was added at the request of the new owners? The female artist was probably not known, but the gallery’s records clearly state that she was the maker.

This assumption is not as odd as it sounds. In 1889 the Van Lyndens bought ‘*Arrangement in Yellow and Gray*: Effie Deans’ by James McNeill Whistler (fig. 19) from Van Wisselingh. The Effie Deans in the title is a character in Sir Walter Scott’s novel *The Heart of Midlothian*, who is unjustly accused of complicity in the death of her child. At the couple’s request, the painter added an inscription from the novel directly below his signature, the well-known stylized butterfly.44 The inscription reads: ‘She sunk her head upon her hand, and remained seemingly, unconscious as a statue – Walter Scott – The heart of Midlothian’.

Nowadays it would be an unusual intervention in an artwork, but then it was not unthinkable. In 1896, for instance, Van Wisselingh asked George Hendrik Breitner to repaint *The Singel Bridge at the Paleisstraat in Amsterdam* because his first version did not sell.45 That commercial relationship between buyer, dealer and artist also emerges from another story about the Van Lyndens and Whistler. In 1889 Van Wisselingh offered them Whistler’s most famous work, *Arrangement in Black and Grey, no. 1: Portrait of the Artist’s Mother* (1871, Musée D’Orsay Paris), at an exhibition staged by the Nederlandse Etsclub (Dutch Etching Club) at the Amsterdam artists’ society Arti & Amicitiae. Van Wisselingh showed his prosperous client the work before the exhibition opened in the hope that he could sell it to him. Van Lynden was very impressed by the portrait, so much so that it gave him an idea. Van Wisselingh wrote to the artist about it:

> I had told Baron van Lynden of your sending this beautiful portrait to Amsterdam and as he was not likely to see it in the exhibition I invited him to come and see it here. He called yesterday afternoon with the Baroness and they were both delighted with it and appreciated it thoroughly … Looking at the portrait, both the Baron and the Baroness expressed the wish to have a similar portrait of their mother, a lady far advanced in years. I do not know whether you would care to undertake to paint a portrait abroad or whether anything would actually come of it, but upon my telling the Baron that you had thought of...
paying a visit to Holland this summer, he asked me to introduce you to him when you came. Only he leaves for the country about the first of next month, as soon as the shooting begins, I believe.46

Sadly, nothing came of it, possibly because Constantia van Pallandt died a year later. Thus the Van Lyndens, and therefore the Rijksmuseum too, missed a chance to acquire the famous portrait of Whistler’s mother and a new portrait of Van Pallandt’s mother.47

One group of artists is conspicuously underrepresented in the collection: the Hague School, which by 1880 was already famous. The first generation is only represented by work by Hendrik Willem Mesdag (fig. 29), Jacob and Willem Maris (fig. 30) and Anton Mauve (sk-a-1888). The only second-generation Hague School artists with works in the collection are Frederik van Rossum du Chattel (sk-a-1806) and Cornelis Westerbeek (sk-a-1836). For collectors living in The Hague this is remarkably few. It is also interesting that the baron was not a member of the artists’ society Pulchri Studio, the bastion of the Hague School, although members of his family were and Hanedoes was even vice-chair in the eighteen-sixties.48 Nor did the Van Lyndens buy the few Hague School paintings they did own directly at exhibitions in Pulchri Studio but from others, including the Hague branch of Boussod, Valadon & Cie.49 They do not appear to have been really engaged. From the start of the eighteen-sixties their focus remained primarily on French art. And that is surprising, because at that time there was little interest in it in the Netherlands. In 1888, for example, the Paris art dealer Theo van Gogh tried in vain to introduce French Impressionists at the Hague branch of the Boussod, Valadon & Cie gallery. After the sale of only one work (by Monticelli), the rest of the consignment was returned to Paris as unsaleable.50 So the Van Lyndens’ purchase of a Monet in 1886 had been a very bold move.51

The French orientation of the Van Lynden-Van Pallandt Collection, however, was something it had in common with the other major Hague collection, that of the Mesdag-Van Houtens. It holds many masterpieces of the Hague School, but is foremost still the best and the biggest Barbizon School collection in the Netherlands. Mesdag was a major figure in the Hague art world. He was also a patron of some artists, including the Italian Antonio Mancini, one of whose paintings was owned by the Van Lyndens (fig. 31). The Poor Child is another typical sentimental subject for the couple. There is no doubt that the baron and Mesdag knew one another and admired each other’s collection, but it would not have been a very close relationship. For example, there were no works from the Van Lynden-Van Pallandt Collection in a benefit exhibition for The Hague Academy of Art in 1882, which was devoted to work from private collections and organized by the Hague branch of Goupil. Mesdag had sent a large selection, and works from the Van Lynden-Van Pallandt Collection would certainly not have been out of place.52 This absence reflects the couple’s reclusive nature, which became even more marked after the death of their beloved daughter.

Nationalism in the Museum

In 1903 the Mesdags decided to donate their collection and residence with studios to the State of the Netherlands. Possibly in consultation with Elbert Jan van Wisselingh, who had settled in Amsterdam in 1890, news of that intention prompted the Van Lyndens to bequeath their collection to the Rijksmuseum, in other words to the State. Not long before, the museum had moved into the new building on Stadhouderskade and could certainly use some additions to its collections,
Fig. 17
**Théodule Augustin Ribot** (1823–1891), *Woman Sewing*, 1850–91. Oil on canvas, 46.5 x 38 cm, inv. no. sk-A-1897.

Fig. 18
**Auguste Boulard** (1825–1897), *The Meal*, 1850–92. Oil on canvas, 88.5 x 73 cm, inv. no. sk-A-1860.

Fig. 19

Figs. 1 and 17 to 31 show a selection of the Van Lynden–Van Pallandt Collection, which was donated to the Rijksmuseum by M.C., Baroness van Lynden-van Pallandt, The Hague, 1900.
Fig. 20
Eugène Delacroix (1798-1863), The Agony in the Garden, 1851.
Oil on canvas, 34 x 42 cm, inv. no. sk-a-1871.

Fig. 21
Charles-François Daubigny (1817-1878), October, 1850-78.
Oil on canvas, 87.5 x 160.5 cm, inv. no. sk-a-1868.

Fig. 22
Charles-François Daubigny (1817-1878), Beach at Ebb Tide, c. 1850-78.
Oil on panel, 35 x 55 cm, inv. no. sk-a-1867.

Fig. 23
Gustave Courbet (1819-1877), Still Life with Apples, 1872.
Oil on canvas, 59 x 48 cm, inv. no. sk-a-1865.

Fig. 24
Thomas Couture (1815-1879), Lust for Gold, 1843-44.
Oil on canvas, 35 x 45 cm, inv. no. sk-a-1866.

Fig. 25
Antoine Vollon (1833-1900), Harbour View in Dunkerque (or Dieppe?), 1875.
Oil on panel, 62 x 36 cm, inv. no. sk-a-1901.

Fig. 26
Félix François Georges Philibert Ziem (1821-1911), Moorish Oarsmen of Constantinople, 1850-87.
Oil on canvas, 66.5 x 138 cm, inv. no. sk-a-1903.
THE COLLECTION OF PAINTINGS FROM BARON VAN LYNDEN AND BARONESS VAN PALLANDT
Fig. 27
Adolphe Joseph Thomas Monticelli (1824-1886), Christ Blessing the Children, 1870-86. Oil on panel, 29.5 x 71 cm, inv. no. sk-A-1893.

Fig. 28
Marie Joséphine Nicolas, Nymph, 1886. Oil on canvas, 65.2 x 93.3 cm, inv. no. sk-A-1894.

Fig. 29
Hendrik Willem Mesdag (1831-1915), Calm Sea, 1880-90. Oil on canvas, 123.4 x 97.5 cm, inv. no. sk-A-1891.

Fig. 30
Willem Maris (1844-1910), Cows in a Soggy Meadow, 1870-76. Oil on canvas, 48.5 x 100 cm, inv. no. sk-A-1887.

Fig. 31
Antonio Mancini (1852-1930), The Poor Child, 1874-96. Oil on canvas, 146 x 79.8 cm, inv. no. sk-A-1884.
particular in the modern art department. The well-known art critic Jan Veth had already pointed that out in a series of articles titled ‘In the Rijksmuseum’, published initially in the weekly news magazine De Groene Amsterdammer between 4 February and 18 March 1894.\(^5\) That plea was effective because the Van Lynden-Van Pallandt Collection was followed by dozens of donations and bequests.

The Lyndenstein bequest entered the museum in 1899. It was valued at 11,500 guilders. That amount was insignificant when compared to the baroness’s donation a year later. In a draft letter to the Minister of the Interior, Van Riemsdijk respectfully wrote that the sum ‘should be set at a minimum of 200,000 guilders, making this gift to the Rijksmuseum the most valuable one ever made.’\(^5\) He had called in the assistance of Van Wisselingh to clarify the titles and the painters, and had probably also asked him to make the valuation.\(^5\) Thanks to this one grand gesture, the museum had an important supplement to its foreign modern art holdings.

The modern part, plus a few works from Lyndenstein, were placed in the large Admirals Room (room 164) in the Fragmentengebouw, a separate building in the Rijksmuseum’s garden whose structure included parts of demolished listed buildings and monuments from all over the Netherlands. Later on, other modern art collections were given a place in that room. Joannes Westerwoudt (1849-1906), a frequent customer of the Van Wisselingh & Co gallery at the same time as the Van Lyndens, collected a fine selection of works by the Hague School, which included *Children of the Sea* by Jozef Israëls (sk-A-2382), a great favourite with the general public; he left his collection to the museum in 1907.\(^5\) But the most significant among donations was a substantial loan of thirty-six paintings and thirty-one watercolours by Hague School artists in 1903 by Jean Charles Joseph Drucker (1862-1944) and his wife Maria Lydia Fraser (1886-1944). This brought important works by, among others, Anton Mauve, Jacob and Willem Maris, Jan Hendrik Weissenbruch and Lawrence Alma-Tadema into the museum.\(^5\)

These very popular homegrown contemporary artists gave the Rijksmuseum’s holdings a huge boost. The Drucker-Fraser Collection reflected the changed taste of the age and was also an expression of the nationalism in the Netherlands that peaked around 1900. The museum itself radiated the glory of Dutch art and history through its architecture and decoration, and the most important spaces were devoted to famous seventeenth-century paintings. Dutch painting had now begun to flourish once again, and there was every reason to be proud of the Hague School. In Scotland, England and North America, in particular, these painters were a sensation with their charismatic depictions of the Dutch landscape. During a presentation of a commemorative medal to the Drucker-Frasers in 1910, their unspoken mission was described as follows: ‘To ensure that the heyday of the Dutch painters school has the place it deserves in the leading cultural institution of our Fatherland in the field of visual art.’\(^5\) Art and political ideology came together perfectly here.

In this climate, the Drucker-Frasers were in a position to make demands about exhibiting their collection. In 1903 they immediately insisted on the best position for the paintings and watercolours they had lent. At that time, it was the Admirals Room; this meant that most of the Van Lynden-Van Pallandt Collection, which had been there for only three years, had to make way.\(^5\) The Drucker-Frasers promised to bequeath their entire collection to the museum provided that a new extension was built next to the Fragmentengebouw, with its
own entrance, to be devoted to their collection.\textsuperscript{60} This Drucker extension opened in 1909. On the first floor there were fine large rooms, lit from above with long high walls, which were very suitable for the modern paintings of the Hague and Amsterdam Schools (fig. 32). In the meantime they donated paintings now and then or even purchased them especially for the museum, for example the \textit{Portrait of Rutger Jan Schimmelpenninck and his Family} by Pierre Prud’hon dating from 1801-02 (SK-A-3097). Their patronage therefore meant a great deal to the museum.

But the dominance of Dutch painting came at the expense of foreign art. Initially, the rooms in the extension that were still empty were filled with work from the other collections of modern art, including sixty-two items from the Van Lynden-Van Pallandt Collection.\textsuperscript{61} That conflicted, however, with the Druckers’ wish for exclusivity.

In 1909 they loaned numerous paintings by Jozef Israëls, which made it possible to completely fill the new rooms with works from their collection.\textsuperscript{62} The other collections disappeared to smaller rooms on the ground floor, where they were displayed in far worse light (fig. 33).

At the same time, appreciation of modern art in the Netherlands developed at a rapid pace and when, in 1909, the Rijksmuseum was able to obtain paintings by Vincent van Gogh, Paul Cézanne and others on loan from the Hoogendijk family and Van Gogh’s heirs, it was deemed to be an excellent opportunity.\textsuperscript{63} In 1888 French Impressionists had proved to still be unsaleable, but now Post-Impressionists hung in the museum. The French realists of the Barbizon School, the Daubignys, Courbets and even the Monet were no longer classified as avant-garde.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{fig32}
\caption{Room 367 in the Drucker extension, Drucker-Fraser Collection in 1922. Photograph, 120 x 170 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RMA-SSA-F-00017-1.}
\end{figure}
These sweeping changes took place soon after the arrival of the Van Lynden-Van Pallandt Collection in the museum. Consequently, the collection was only displayed as an ensemble for a fairly brief period and it was never comprehensively described. In 1900, the newspapers had still enthusiastically reported a royal visit by Queen Wilhelmina and Queen Mother Emma specifically to the room where sixty paintings from the collection could be viewed. The emphasis was on French painters plus a few Dutch Romantic works. In 1920, the selection was reduced to fifteen paintings that were spread over three rooms, interspersed with works from other collections. Among them the Courbets as well as the Daubignys remained permanent features. The Monet and the Whistler were moved to the new rooms in the Drucker extension.

During the nineteen-nineties, the Van Gogh Museum, which had opened in 1973, received a significant part of the French collection on long-term loan, for example *Lust for Gold* by Couture, *Christ and his Disciples* by Daumier (sk-A-1869), *Still Life with Apples* by Courbet, *October* by Daubigny, as well as Whistler’s *Effie Deans*. *La Corniche near Monaco* by Monet was on long-term loan to the Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam from 1997, before it, too, moved to the Van Gogh Museum in 2000. Given the different fields of interest in Museumplein, this was a logical decision, but the result in the Rijksmuseum was to underline even more strongly the nationalist image of the collection of nineteenth-century paintings.

Furthermore, during this period there was little positive interest in the nineteenth century, which even...
acquired the nickname of 'the era of distaste'. As a result of that change in appreciation, a substantial part of the entire collection of nineteenth-century paintings ended up in the depot. In 1996 the renovated Drucker extension was opened, now called the South Wing. Only a selection of the many nineteenth-century Dutch paintings was hung there, spread over six rooms. It was not until the opening of the renovated Rijksmuseum in 2013 that an entire wing of the main building was devoted to art and history between 1800 and 1900. Now scope was created for art from outside the Netherlands as well. On that occasion Monet's La Corniche near Monaco, Daubigny’s Beach at Ebb Tide (Villerville sur mer), Courbet’s Landscape with Rocky Cliffs and a Waterfall and Whistler’s Arrangement in Yellow and Grey were also put back on the walls permanently. Still Life with Apples by Courbet, October by Daubigny and The Agony in the Garden by Delacroix still remain in the Van Gogh Museum’s permanent display. Vollon’s harbour view can be seen in the Mesdag Collection.

The cause of the curious neglect of the Van Lynden-Van Pallandt Collection in the end was the quick loss of its coherence as a result of the rapid expansion of the Rijksmuseum’s collection of nineteenth-century paintings after 1900, the distribution of the baron’s and baroness’s paintings among the museum’s rooms and long-term loans to other museums and government institutions. At an early stage, Van Riemsdijk had to conclude that the baroness’s wish to keep all the paintings together was not feasible. This collection of modern French art, the Rijksmuseum’s first, was consequently out of sight for far too long. A comprehensive return of all the paintings to the museum’s walls is no longer on the agenda, but the exhibition in Beetsterzwaag gave us the opportunity to examine the collection’s provenance and character and bring it back to life for a brief moment.
The ‘Van Lynden Collection’ comprises forty-four paintings that were hung in the Lyndenstein country house in Beetsterzwaag by Baron van Lynden (1827-1896) and his mother Cornelia van Borcharen (1789-1864), and forty-six paintings purchased from 1860 onwards, when the baron married Maria Catharina, Baroness van Pallandt (1834-1905), for their residence in The Hague. The baroness’s involvement is not mentioned in archival documents because of women’s legal incapacity at the time. The article corrects this by referring to the Van Lynden-Van Pallandt Collection and discussing the history of all the works. Lyndenstein was home to an almost encyclopaedic selection of finely painted works by Dutch Romantic artists to which Van Lynden, when a young man, added paintings from Exhibitions of Living Artists that mostly had already received awards. Louwrens Hanedoes, himself a painter and a relative, might have mediated and represented the baron in purchasing. In their Hague residence, Van Lynden and Van Pallandt hung modern French works painted in a loose or even sketchy manner. These were acquired during visits they made together to sales and galleries in Paris and through their commercial relationship with Goupil & Cie (from 1884 Boussod, Valadon & Cie) and the firm of Wisselingh & Co, both with branches in the Netherlands. The collection from Lyndenstein arrived in the Rijksmuseum in 1899; in 1900 it was followed by the Hague collection, which had also been bequeathed but was then donated by Baroness van Pallandt during her lifetime. It was not possible to keep the Van Lynden-Van Pallandt Collection together because of the rapid expansion of the collection of late nineteenth-century paintings, the changing appreciation of modern art and the nationalist preference for Dutch art in general and the Hague School in particular, and long-term loans to other institutions. A number of the French masterpieces were not hung permanently until after the Rijksmuseum had been renovated (2013).

* I would like to thank the exhibitions working group of the Historical Beetsterzwaag Foundation, and in particular Heleen Verhage and Gerda Vermeer, on whose initiative and through whose research the foundations were laid for this article, and who furthermore critically reviewed the text. I also thank the anonymous peer reviewers for their suggestions.

1 Haarlem, Noord-Hollands Archief (hereafter NL-HLMNHA), Rijksmuseum and legal predecessors in Amsterdam (accession number 476), inv. no. 1920, R. Baron van Lynden, The Hague, 1899-1902, nos. 2 and 3, Will of Reinhard Boelens van Lynden, dated 30 December 1891.

2 ‘Ze bedraagt 46 stuks en de beroemdste moderne schilders zijn daarin met goede stukken vertegenwoordigd.’ NL-HLMNHA, Rijksmuseum (476) (note 1), inv. no. 1920, no. 30, B. van Riemsdijk to the Minister of the Interior, Amsterdam 4 December 1899, no. 2039 concerning bequest of Graaf [sic] van Lynden.

3 No contract was prepared for the donation. The transfer took place on the basis of verbal consultation with Van Riemsdijk. At the bottom of Baron van Lynden’s will (see note 1), he wrote the following: ‘Toen de verzameling schilderijen op Lyndenstein bestaande uit schilderijen van omstreeks 1870 door het Rijksmuseum was aanvaard en de collectie naar Amsterdam overgebracht, besloot de Weduwe aan den wensch van haren echtgenoot te voldoen om de geheele verzameling (dus die te Lyndenstein en in Den Haag) in het bezit van het Rijksmuseum te stellen en schonk zij haar toebehoorende helft in de Alexanderstraat aanwezig aan het Rijksmuseum. Dit geschiedde bij een mondelinge bespreking met mij. Van die schenking werd geene akte opgemaakt, alleen de voorwaarden werden vastgesteld in een schrijven aan Mevr. Van Lynden-Van Pallandt gericht dd. 3 april 1900 …’ (When the collection of paintings in Lyndenstein, consisting of works from around 1870, was accepted by the Rijksmuseum and the collection was taken to Amsterdam, the widow decided to comply with her husband’s wishes to transfer the entire collection (that is to say the works from Lyndenstein and in The Hague) to
the Rijksmuseum and she donated her half, present in Alexanderstraat, to the museum. This was arranged in a verbal discussion with me. No notarial instrument relating to this donation was drawn up. The terms and conditions were recorded in a letter to Mrs van Lynden-van Pallandt dated 3 April 1900).

4 The exhibition was on view from 14 June to 24 October 2021 in the gardens (Overtuin) of Lyndenstein, with reproductions of all works displayed in five temporary stands.


8 Baselmans (note 6), p. 22.

9 Sijanda Jelsma, Adel in Beesterzwaag: Van Lynden 1782-1905, Beesterzwaag (Historical Beesterzwaag Foundation) 2021, p. 10.


11 For Cornelia, see also Van Renssen 2015 (note 7).

12 Jan Bank, Maarten van Buuren et al., 1900: The Age of Bourgeois Culture, Assen 2004, pp. 333-36.

13 Van Renssen 2015 (note 7), pp. 44-46.

14 Baselmans (note 6), pp. 18-19.

15 Baselmans (note 6), p. 17.


17 Baselmans (note 6), pp. 90-96.

18 Apart from the new provenance information and corrected dates mentioned in this article, other improvements in the paintings’ data are incorporated in the Rijksmuseum’s collection database.

19 Baselmans (note 6), p. 15, quotes the eulogy read out at the funeral of the Dowager van Lynden.


21 NL-HMNHA, Rijksmuseum (476) (note 1), inv. no. 1920, nos. 13 and 14, List of paintings to be loaded at Lyndenstein Beesterzwaag, 15 May 1899.

22 Kuiper 1993 (note 6), pp. 377-397.


25 Catalogues tlm The Hague 1853, no. 399 and no. 478. See http://rkddb.rkd.nl/rkddb/digital_book/201503722.pdf (consulted 1 July 2021). Over the years the Rijksmuseum changed the titles of several artworks because the old ones were no longer considered relevant or were thought to be dated.

26 NL-HMNHA, Rijksmuseum (476) (note 1), inv. no. 1920, nos. 13 and 14, List of paintings to be loaded at Lyndenstein Beesterzwaag, 15 May 1899.

The Collection of Paintings from Baron Van Lynden and Baroness Van Pallandt


29 Johanna Maria van Borcharen, a cousin of Reinhard’s mother, married Nicolaas de Gijselaar and their daughter Agatha married Adriaan Hanedoes, Louwrens’s grandfather. See myheritage.nl, search term Johanna Maria De Gijselaar, née van Bocharen (consulted 9 January 2023).

30 Hanedoes’s collection, together with that of W.E. Kaiser, was auctioned off in 1905 at the sale Moderne schilderijen, aquarellen en eenige oude schilderijen (Modern paintings, watercolours and some old paintings), De Brakke Grond, Amsterdam 6 June 1905; see Annemieke Hoogenboom, De stand des kunstenaars: De positie van kunstschilders in Nederland in de eerste helft van de negentiende eeuw, Leiden 1993, p. 180 (note 88).

31 Van Renssen 2015 (note 7), pp. 50-51.

32 The untraced work was entitled Roses and was purchased by Van Lynden at Goupil in June 1879. See Getty Research Institute (hereafter grt), Goupil Stock Book no. 9, p. 31, row 7, stock no. 9358.

33 Chris Stolwijk, Uit de schilderswereld: Nederlandse kunstschilders in de tweede helft van de negentiende eeuw, Leiden 2000, pp. 314-16.


35 Vergeest 2000 (note 34), p. 128 (with incorrect illustration): possibly 6-8 May 1878, sale Drouot vente cf Daubigny, no. 395 (Villerville-sur-Mer; 35 x 57 cm) for 1,600 francs to Desfossés; 19 June 1889 bought from him by Boussod, Valadon & Cie (Theo van Gogh) as Plage de Villerville [Villerville Beach] for 1,400 francs (no. 19931); 24 Sept 1889 at Boussod, Valadon & Cie The Hague sold for 1,900 francs; see Chris Stolwijk and Richard Thomson, Theo Van Gogh (1857-1891): Kunsthandelaar, verzamelaar en broer van Vincent, Amsterdam/Zwolle 2000, p. 211, no. 72.

36 Vergeest 2000 (note 34), p. 112: sold at the sale of M. Barbedienne at Durand Ruel, Paris, 2-3 June 1892, no. 18 for 1,900 francs.


38 See grt, Goupil Stock Book no. 12, p. 26, row 6, stock no. 18634, book 12; Vollon: Vergeest 2000 (note 34), p. 321: 1875 purchased from the artist on December 1 at Goupil & Cie, Paris, 700 francs no. 10815 (as Port de mer); 1882 purchased there by Farbes for 700 francs; purchased by Van Lynden.


40 Vergeest 2000 (note 34), p. 247: 1895 A. Diot, Paris; 1895 purchased there on June 27 by E.J. van Wisselingh & Co, Amsterdam 10,500 francs, Netherlands Institute for Art History – rkd (hereafter nl-harkd), Van Wisselingh Archive (accession no. 259); 1895 purchased on the same day by Van Lynden for 6,000 guilders (nl-harkd, Van Wisselingh Archive (259)).

41 Vergeest 2000 (note 34), p. 232: possibly purchased from the artist in 1886 by dealer Georges Petit, Paris (as Cap Martin); sold to Van Lynden.

42 grt, Goupil Stock Book no. 11, p. 172, row 4, stock no. 18049. The artist was also identified as ‘Mlle Nicolas’. The purchase date was 18 September 1886, the same day that it was sold to Van Lynden.

43 See, for example, Marie Joséphine Nicolas’s work in the Musée Alexandre Dumas.


45 See for example Josephina de Fouw, Breitners Singelbrug bij de Paleisstraat, Amsterdam 2014, pp. 32-33.


48 The Hague Municipal Archives, Pulchri Studio archive (accession no. 0059-01), inv. no. 1.1.4, item 229: List of names of patrons, board members and members, 1847-1886/87, 1898/99 and s.a.

49 Purchase Willem Maris 17 November 1881: grt, Goupil Stock Book no. 10, p. 24, row 14, stock no. 11253; purchase Duchatel
26 August 1882: no. 11, p. 48, row 15, stock no. 16148; purchase C. Westerbeek
6 August 1885: no. 11, p. 137, row 6, stock no. 17527; purchase Jacob Maris
18 September 1886: no. 11, p. 54, row 3, stock no. 16273.

50 See Stolwijk and Thomson 2000 (note 35), pp. 81, 201 (note 90).

51 After its transfer to the Rijksmuseum, the Monet remained the only work by the artist in a Dutch museum for some time. It was not until 1922 that the Van Wezels bequeathed a painting of roses, once again to the Rijksmuseum (Claude Monet, Flowers, undated, oil on panel, 91 x 48 cm, inv. no. sk-a-2933). When the Kröller-Müller Museum opened in 1928, Monet’s 1874 The Studio Boat was on display (bought by Hélène Kröller-Müller in 1915) and at the same time Museum Boymans bought his 1882 Fisherman’s House at Varengeville. See Vergeest 2000 (note 34), pp. 232, 234.


53 Later published as Jan Veth, In het Rijksmuseum; met twee brieven van Jozef Israëls, Amsterdam 1894, pp. 20-33.

54 ‘minstens te stellen op f. 200.000, waardoor dit geschenk te achten is als het kostbaarste ooit aan het Rijksmuseum gedaan’. NL-HLMNHA, Rijksmuseum (476) (note 1), inv. no. 1920, R. Baron van Lynden of The Hague, 1899-1902, no. 40, Draft letter no. 2130 from B. van Riemsdijk to the Minister of the Interior, Amsterdam 22 March 1900.

55 NL-HLMNHA, Rijksmuseum (476) (note 1), inv. no. 1920, R. Baron van Lynden of The Hague 1899-1902, no. 45, Letter from E.J. van Wisselingh & Co, Spui 23 Amsterdam to Van Riemsdijk, 11 April 1900; and no. 48, Letter from B. van Riemsdijk to the Minister of the Interior, 23 April 1900; nos. 49 and 50, Appendices to item 48, list of the 45 paintings.

56 Heijbroek (Steenhoff) 1991 (note 5), pp. 174-75.

57 Engel 1965 (note 5), p. 49.
